

## Message Text

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 01 STATE 009251  
ORIGIN AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 NEA-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00  
INR-07 NSAE-00 PA-01 USIA-06 PRS-01 SP-02 PM-05  
NSC-05 SS-15 ACDA-12 ARA-10 L-03 /100 R

DRAFTED BY AF/E:JWHITING:AB

APPROVED BY AF/E:RPOST

-----005163 131039Z/23

P 122327Z JAN 78

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY MOGADISCIO PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY DJIBOUTI PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY NAIROBI PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY CAIRO PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY SANA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY JIDDA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN PRIORITY

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE STATE 009251

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SOPN, ET, SO

SUBJECT: PRESS GUIDANCE CONCERNING EVANS AND NOVAK COLUMN

ON HORN SITUATION

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 02 STATE 009251

FOLLOWING IS PRESS GUIDANCE PREPARED FOR BUT NOT USED AT  
JANUARY 12 STATE DEPT PRESS BRIEFING REGARDING EVANS AND  
NOVAK COLUMN OF SAME DATE ON HORN SITUATION.

Q: WITH REFERENCE TO THIS MORNING'S EVANS AND NOVAK ARTICLE,  
IS IT TRUE THAT THE PRESIDENT, DURING HIS RECENT TRIP,

CAME UNDER PRESSURE FROM THE LEADERS OF IRAN, SAUDI ARABIA AND FRANCE TO APPLY "COUNTER-VAILING PRESSURES" TO COUNTER THE SOVIET INTRUSION IN ETHIOPIA OR RISK LOSING THE CONFIDENCE OF US FRIENDS AND ALLIES?

A: DETAILS OF THE PRESIDENT'S CONVERSATIONS WITH LEADERS OF OTHER COUNTRIES MUST, OF COURSE, REMAIN CONFIDENTIAL. OUR UNDERSTANDING, WHICH YOU MIGHT WISH TO CHECK WITH THE WHITE HOUSE, IS THAT THE SITUATION IN THE HORN OF AFRICA WAS ONE OF SEVERAL SUBJECTS, BUT NOT A MAJOR ASPECT OF THE PRESIDENT'S CONVERSATIONS WITH THE LEADERS HE VISITED. IT IS NO SECRET THAT THE SAUDIS AND THE IRANIANS ARE CONCERNED AT THE EXTENT OF SOVIET INVOLVEMENT IN ETHIOPIA, AS ARE WE. WE HAVE ALREADY AND ARE CONTINUING OUR EFFORTS TO ENCOURAGE BOTH SIDES TO THE OGADEN CONFLICT TO RESOLVE THEIR

DIFFERENCES BY NEGOTIATION AND HAVE MADE CLEAR OUR OPPOSITION TO THE CONTINUED SUPPLY OF ARMS TO THAT AREA WHICH, BY ENCOURAGING CONTINUED RECOURSE TO ARMED CONFLICT, UNDERMINES THE OAU EFFORTS, WHICH WE STRONGLY SUPPORT, TO MEDIATE THE CONFLICT. RATHER THAN LOSING THE CONFIDENCE OF OUR FRIENDS AND ALLIES, OUR RESTRAINT AND RESPECT FOR THE AFRICANS' RIGHT TO FIND THEIR OWN SOLUTIONS HAS BEEN FAVORABLY RECOGNIZED.

Q: IS IT TRUE THAT THE PRESIDENT WAS URGED TO USE THE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 03 STATE 009251

SALT II TALKS AS LEVERAGE TO SECURE SOVIET RESTRAINT IN THE HORN OF AFRICA?

A: NOT TO MY KNOWLEDGE. THE TWO ISSUES ARE UNCONNECTED.

Q: DID PHIL HABIB PRESS THE SOVIETS ON THE HORN DURING HIS RECENT TRIP TO MOSCOW?

A: OUR UNDERSTANDING IS THAT MR. HABIB'S TRIP WAS TAKEN UP WITH MIDDLE EAST MATTERS.

Q: WHAT IS THE US DOING ABOUT THE MASSIVE 225-PLANE AIRLIFT BY THE SOVIETS TO ETHIOPIA?

A: WE ARE AT A LOSS TO KNOW WHERE THE FIGURE OF 225 CAME FROM SINCE OUR INFORMATION INDICATES THAT THAT FIGURE IS ROUGHLY FIVE TIMES THE ACTUAL NUMBER OF FLIGHTS. WE DO NOT, HOWEVER, MINIMIZE THE IMPORTANCE OF THE AIRLIFT. WHILE WE DO NOT QUESTION THE RIGHT OF ETHIOPIA TO DEFEND ITS TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, WE SIMPLY DO NOT SEE HOW SUCH A LONG-STANDING, COMPLEX PROBLEM SUCH AS THAT POSED BY THE OGADEN, OVER WHICH ETHIOPIA IS SOVEREIGN BUT WHICH IS

INHABITED BY SOMALI PEOPLE, CAN BE SOLVED BY MILITARY MEANS. CONTINUATION OF THE KILLING AND WOUNDING WILL ONLY ENHANCE THE BITTERNESS BETWEEN THE SOMALI AND ETHIOPIAN PEOPLE AND MAKE AN ULTIMATE SETTLEMENT MORE DIFFICULT. WE THEREFORE FEEL THAT IT IS ENTIRELY LEGITIMATE FOR US TO CRITICIZE THE INTRODUCTION OF ARMS, FIRST ON ONE SIDE AND THEN THE OTHER, WHICH HAS STIMULATED RE COURSE TO WARFARE RATHER THAN TO NEGOTIATION.

Q: IS IT TRUE THAT THERE ARE NOW "PERHAPS 3,000 SOVIET AND CUBAN MILITARY ADVISERS" IN ETHIOPIA AS THE ARTICLE STATES?

A: PERHAPS. WE CANNOT SAY WITH CERTAINTY BUT SOME OF THE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 04 STATE 009251

AIRCRAFT IN THE AIRLIFT WERE PASSENGER PLANES THE TOTAL CAPACITY OF WHICH WOULD EXCEED BY A CONSIDERABLE AMOUNT

THE NUMBERS WE KNOW ABOUT OF ETHIOPIANS IN TRAINING IN THE SOVIET UNION. IT IS THEREFORE REASONABLE TO ASSUME THAT SOME OF THE SEATS WERE OCCUPIED BY SOVIETS AND/OR CUBANS. IT IS THEREFORE ALSO REASONABLE TO ASSUME THAT OUR ESTIMATES OF THE NUMBERS OF SOVIET AND CUBAN MILITARY IN ETHIOPIA PRIOR TO THE AIRLIFT, RESPECTIVELY 500 AND 1,000, SHOULD NOW BE REVISED UPWARDS.

Q: WAS THE PRESIDENT PRESSED ON THE QUESTION OF THIRD-COUNTRY TRANSFERS AND WHAT IS OUR PRESENT POSITION ON THAT SUBJECT?

A: OUR UNDERSTANDING IS THAT THE PRESIDENT WAS NOT PRESSED ON THAT QUESTION. OUR POSITION REMAINS THAT WE WILL NEITHER SUPPLY ARMS TO EITHER OF THE CONTENDING PARTIES OURSELVES NOR WILL WE AUTHORIZE THE TRANSFER BY LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 05 STATE 009251

OTHERS OF U.S.-ORIGIN ARMS.

Q: DID CARTER AGREE TO PERSUADE THE SOMALIS TO ACCEPT A CEASE-FIRE, THEN TO PRESSURE MOSCOW TO COMPEL ETHIOPIA TO ACCEPT THE OFFER, AND THEN STIMULATE A DEMAND BY AFRICAN STATES FOR SOVIET WITHDRAWAL FROM ETHIOPIA?

A: AGAIN, I CANNOT COMMENT SPECIFICALLY ON WHAT THE PRESIDENT DID OR DID NOT SAY. HOWEVER, AS I SAID EARLIER, WE HAVE REITERATED OUR SUPPORT FOR THE PRINCIPLE OF TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, AND STRONGLY AND REPEATEDLY URGED AN END TO THE FIGHTING AND THE OPENING OF NEGOTIATIONS. GIVEN THEIR IMPORTANCE TO THE ETHIOPIANS, THE SOVIETS WOULD CERTAINLY BE IN THE BEST POSITION TO PERSUADE THE ETHIOPIANS TO GO THAT ROUTE AND WITH THIS IN MIND WE HAVE RAISED OUR CONCERNs ABOUT THE OGADEN CONFLICT WITH THE SOVIETS, THOUGH I WOULD NOT CHARACTERIZE THIS AS PRESSURE. AS TO STIMULATING DEMANDS FROM AFRICAN STATES FOR SOVIET WITHDRAWAL FROM ETHIOPIA, IN OUR CONTACTS WITH AFRICANS, WE HAVE ENCOUNTERED CONSIDERABLE CONCERN OVER THE SOVIET AND CUBAN ACTIVITIES IN ETHIOPIA, A CONCERN WHICH MANY HAVE EXPRESSED PUBLICLY WITH NO NEED FOR PROMPTING FROM US.

CHRISTOPHER

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

NNN

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 01 STATE 009251  
ORIGIN ARA-03

INFO OCT-01 EUR-03 ISO-00 /007 R

66011

DRAFTED BY ARA/CCA:WSSMITH:YT - EUR/CE:VGRAY:DHT  
APPROVED BY ARA/CCA:WSSMITH - EUR/CE:RCBARKLEY

-----013368 140350Z /64

O R 140230Z JAN 78

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USINT HAVANA IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE STATE 009251

FOL RPT STATE 009251 ACTION ADDIS ABABA MOGADISCIO KHARTOUM  
DJIBOUTI NAIROBI TEHRAN CAIRO SANA JIDDA MOSCOW LONDON PARIS  
BONN LAGOS LIBREVILLE ABIDJAN 12 JAN 78 QUOTE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE STATE 009251

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SOPN, ET, SO

SUBJECT: PRESS GUIDANCE CONCERNING EVANS AND NOVAK COLUMN  
ON HORN SITUATION

FOLLOWING IS PRESS GUIDANCE PREPARED FOR BUT NOT USED AT  
JANUARY 12 STATE DEPT PRESS BRIEFING REGARDING EVANS AND  
NOVAK COLUMN OF SAME DATE ON HORN SITUATION.

Q: WITH REFERENCE TO THIS MORNING'S EVANS AND NOVAK ARTICLE,  
IS IT TRUE THAT THE PRESIDENT, DURING HIS RECENT TRIP,  
CAME UNDER PRESSURE FROM THE LEADERS OF IRAN, SAUDI ARABIA  
AND FRANCE TO APPLY "COUNTER-VAILING PRESSURES" TO COUNTER  
LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 02 STATE 009251

THE SOVIET INTRUSION IN ETHIOPIA OR RISK LOSING THE  
CONFIDENCE OF US FRIENDS AND ALLIES?

A: DETAILS OF THE PRESIDENT'S CONVERSATIONS WITH LEADERS  
OF OTHER COUNTRIES MUST, OF COURSE, REMAIN CONFIDENTIAL.  
OUR UNDERSTANDING, WHICH YOU MIGHT WISH TO CHECK WITH THE  
WHITE HOUSE, IS THAT THE SITUATION IN THE HORN OF AFRICA WAS  
ONE OF SEVERAL SUBJECTS, BUT NOT A MAJOR ASPECT OF THE  
PRESIDENT'S CONVERSATIONS WITH THE LEADERS HE VISITED. IT  
IS NO SECRET THAT THE SAUDIS AND THE IRANIANS ARE CONCERNED  
AT THE EXTENT OF SOVIET INVOLVEMENT IN ETHIOPIA, AS ARE WE.  
WE HAVE ALREADY AND ARE CONTINUING OUR EFFORTS TO ENCOURAGE  
BOTH SIDES TO THE OGADEN CONFLICT TO RESOLVE THEIR

DIFFERENCES BY NEGOTIATION AND HAVE MADE CLEAR OUR  
OPPOSITION TO THE CONTINUED SUPPLY OF ARMS TO THAT AREA  
WHICH, BY ENCOURAGING CONTINUED RECOURSE TO ARMED CONFLICT,  
UNDERMINES THE OAU EFFORTS, WHICH WE STRONGLY SUPPORT, TO  
MEDIATE THE CONFLICT. RATHER THAN LOSING THE CONFIDENCE  
OF OUR FRIENDS AND ALLIES, OUR RESTRAINT AND RESPECT FOR  
THE AFRICANS' RIGHT TO FIND THEIR OWN SOLUTIONS HAS BEEN  
FAVORABLY RECOGNIZED.

Q: IS IT TRUE THAT THE PRESIDENT WAS URGED TO USE THE  
SALT II TALKS AS LEVERAGE TO SECURE SOVIET RESTRAINT IN

THE HORN OF AFRICA?

A: NOT TO MY KNOWLEDGE. THE TWO ISSUES ARE UNCONNECTED.

Q: DID PHIL HABIB PRESS THE SOVIETS ON THE HORN DURING HIS RECENT TRIP TO MOSCOW?

A: OUR UNDERSTANDING IS THAT MR. HABIB'S TRIP WAS TAKEN LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 03 STATE 009251

UP WITH MIDDLE EAST MATTERS.

Q: WHAT IS THE US DOING ABOUT THE MASSIVE 225-PLANE AIRLIFT BY THE SOVIETS TO ETHIOPIA?

A: WE ARE AT A LOSS TO KNOW WHERE THE FIGURE OF 225 CAME FROM SINCE OUR INFORMATION INDICATES THAT THAT FIGURE IS ROUGHLY FIVE TIMES THE ACTUAL NUMBER OF FLIGHTS. WE DO NOT, HOWEVER, MINIMIZE THE IMPORTANCE OF THE AIRLIFT. WHILE WE DO NOT QUESTION THE RIGHT OF ETHIOPIA TO DEFEND ITS TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, WE SIMPLY DO NOT SEE HOW SUCH A LONG-STANDING, COMPLEX PROBLEM SUCH AS THAT POSED BY THE OGADEN, OVER WHICH ETHIOPIA IS SOVEREIGN BUT WHICH IS INHABITED BY SOMALI PEOPLE, CAN BE SOLVED BY MILITARY MEANS. CONTINUATION OF THE KILLING AND WOUNDING WILL ONLY ENHANCE THE BITTERNESS BETWEEN THE SOMALI AND ETHIOPIAN PEOPLE AND MAKE AN ULTIMATE SETTLEMENT MORE DIFFICULT. WE THEREFORE FEEL THAT IT IS ENTIRELY LEGITIMATE FOR US TO CRITICIZE THE INTRODUCTION OF ARMS, FIRST ON ONE SIDE AND THEN THE OTHER, WHICH HAS STIMULATED RECOURSE TO WARFARE RATHER THAN TO NEGOTIATION.

Q: IS IT TRUE THAT THERE ARE NOW "PERHAPS 3,000 SOVIET AND CUBAN MILITARY ADVISERS" IN ETHIOPIA AS THE ARTICLE STATES?

A: PERHAPS. WE CANNOT SAY WITH CERTAINTY BUT SOME OF THE AIRCRAFT IN THE AIRLIFT WERE PASSENGER PLANES THE TOTAL CAPACITY OF WHICH WOULD EXCEED BY A CONSIDERABLE AMOUNT

THE NUMBERS WE KNOW ABOUT OF ETHIOPIANS IN TRAINING IN THE SOVIET UNION. IT IS THEREFORE REASONABLE TO ASSUME THAT SOME OF THE SEATS WERE OCCUPIED BY SOVIETS AND/OR CUBANS. IT IS THEREFORE ALSO REASONABLE TO ASSUME THAT OUR ESTIMATES OF THE NUMBERS OF SOVIET AND CUBAN MILITARY IN ETHIOPIA PRIOR TO THE AIRLIFT, RESPECTIVELY 500 AND 1,000,

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 04 STATE 009251

SHOULD NOW BE REVISED UPWARDS.

Q: WAS THE PRESIDENT PRESSED ON THE QUESTION OF THIRD-COUNTRY TRANSFERS AND WHAT IS OUR PRESENT POSITION ON THAT SUBJECT?

A: OUR UNDERSTANDING IS THAT THE PRESIDENT WAS NOT PRESSED ON THAT QUESTION. OUR POSITION REMAINS THAT WE WILL NEITHER SUPPLY ARMS TO EITHER OF THE CONTENDING PARTIES OURSELVES NOR WILL WE AUTHORIZE THE TRANSFER BY OTHERS OF U.S.-ORIGIN ARMS.

Q: DID CARTER AGREE TO PERSUADE THE SOMALIS TO ACCEPT A CEASE-FIRE, THEN TO PRESSURE MOSCOW TO COMPEL ETHIOPIA TO ACCEPT THE OFFER, AND THEN STIMULATE A DEMAND BY AFRICAN STATES FOR SOVIET WITHDRAWAL FROM ETHIOPIA?

A: AGAIN, I CANNOT COMMENT SPECIFICALLY ON WHAT THE PRESIDENT DID OR DID NOT SAY. HOWEVER, AS I SAID EARLIER, WE HAVE REITERATED OUR SUPPORT FOR THE PRINCIPLE OF TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, AND STRONGLY AND REPEATEDLY URGED AN END TO THE FIGHTING AND THE OPENING OF NEGOTIATIONS. GIVEN THEIR IMPORTANCE TO THE ETHIOPIANS, THE SOVIETS WOULD CERTAINLY BE IN THE BEST POSITION TO PERSUADE THE ETHIOPIANS TO GO THAT ROUTE AND WITH THIS IN MIND WE HAVE RAISED OUR CONCERN ABOUT THE OGADEN CONFLICT WITH THE SOVIETS, THOUGH I WOULD NOT CHARACTERIZE THIS AS PRESSURE. AS TO STIMULATING DEMANDS FROM AFRICAN STATES FOR SOVIET WITHDRAWAL FROM ETHIOPIA, IN OUR CONTACTS WITH AFRICANS, WE HAVE ENCOUNTERED CONSIDERABLE CONCERN OVER THE SOVIET AND CUBAN ACTIVITIES IN ETHIOPIA, A CONCERN WHICH MANY HAVE EXPRESSED PUBLICLY WITH NO NEED FOR PROMPTING FROM US.

CHRISTOPHER

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

PAGE 05 STATE 009251

UNQUOTE CHRISTOPHER

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptoning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 jan 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** PRESS COMMENTS, POLITICAL SITUATION  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 12 jan 1978  
**Decaption Date:** 01 jan 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 20 Mar 2014  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1978STATE009251  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** JWHITING:AB  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** N/A  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Expiration:**  
**Film Number:** D780020-0147  
**Format:** TEL  
**From:** STATE  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1978/newtext/t19780170/aaaachid.tel  
**Line Count:** 375  
**Litigation Code IDs:**  
**Litigation Codes:**  
**Litigation History:**  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Message ID:** 5343fce3-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Office:** ORIGIN AF  
**Original Classification:** LIMITED OFFICIAL USE  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 7  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** LIMITED OFFICIAL USE  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Retention:** 0  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 14 apr 2005  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**SAS ID:** 3785811  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** PRESS GUIDANCE CONCERNING EVANS AND NOVAK COLUMN ON HORN SITUATION LIMITED OFFICIAL USE  
**TAGS:** SOPN, ET, SO  
**To:** ADDIS ABABA MOGADISCIO MULTIPLE  
**Type:** TE  
**vdkgvgwkey:** odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS\_Docs/5343fce3-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Review Markings:**  
Sheryl P. Walter  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
20 Mar 2014  
**Markings:** Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014